

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 115850

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /011 R

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DRAFTED BY:EUR:SOV:MGARRISON

APPROVED BY:S/S-O:P. JOHNSON

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R 170926Z MAY 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 115850

EXDIS

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM LONDON DATED MAY 15, 1975 SENT SEC-
STATE WASHDC IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 07388

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH GEORGI ARBATOV

REF: LONDON 7256

1. GEORGI ARBATOV PAID A CALL ON ME AT THE EMBASSY
YESTERDAY AFTERNOON, AND WE TALKED FOR AN HOUR ABOUT
VARIOUS ASPECTS OF US-USSR RELATIONS. HE SAID THAT THE
AMERICAN DELEGATION HEADED BY GOVERNOR HARRIMAN HAD MADE
A STRONGLY FAVORABLE IMPRESSION ON BREZHNEV AND THE
OTHER SOVIET LEADERS. THEY THOUGHT THAT IT HAD BEEN
VERY THOUGHTFULLY AND SENSITIVELY COMPOSED AND THAT ALL
OF ITS MEMBERS, AND ESPECIALLY GOVERNOR HARRIMAN, HAD
DONE GREAT CREDIT TO THE UNITED STATES. GOVERNOR
HARRIMAN'S REMARKS (REFTEL) HAD BEEN RECEIVED UNDER-
STANDINGLY AND WITH RESPECT.

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PAGE 02 STATE 115850

2. ARBATOV STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE BREZHNEV ATTACHES TO

TWO OVERRIDING OBJECTIVES: PEACE AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE FOR THE SOVIET PEOPLE. HE IS COUNTING ON FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD DETENTE BEING MADE BEFORE HIS MEETING WITH PRESIDENT FORD LATER THIS YEAR AND FOR THE PARTY CONGRESS IN FEBRUARY 1976. I SAID THAT IT SEEMED TO ME THAT THE ONLY TRUE PROGRESS TOWARD DETENTE WAS REPRESENTED BY CONCRETE AND REALISTIC AGREEMENTS REFLECTING RECIPROCAL BENEFITS TO EACH SIDE IN SALT, MBFR, CSCE, MIDDLE EAST, ETC. ARBATOV AGREED WITH THIS AND SAID THAT THIS IS EXACTLY THE KIND OF PROGRESS BREZHNEV IS HOPING FOR. HE MADE A POINT OF THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM, ALTHOUGH UNLIKE OURS, NEVERTHELESS CONTAINS ROOM FOR DISAGREEMENT AND THAT NOT ALL HIGHLY-PLACED SOVIET LEADERS AGREE WITH BREZHNEV'S POLICIES, A FACT WHICH MAKES IT IMPORTANT FOR BREZHNEV TO DEMONSTRATE SUCCESS.

3. ACCORDING TO ARBATOV, BREZHNEV HAS DELIBERATELY AVOIDED ATTEMPTS TO EXPLOIT SETBACKS IN AMERICAN POLICY FOR SHORT-TERM SOVIET ADVANTAGE. HE CITED PORTUGAL AS AN EXAMPLE OF A SITUATION IN WHICH THE SOVIETS HAD SHOWN RESTRAINT. HE IS HIGHLY CONSCIOUS OF US CAPACITY TO REACT SWIFTLY TO THE PERCEPTION THAT ITS SECURITY IS THREATENED, AND HE BELIEVES THAT THE LONG RUN OBJECTIVES OF DETENTE ARE NOT WORTH JEOPARDIZING BY ACTIONS THAT MIGHT AROUSE SUCH CONCERNS. IN THIS CONNECTION, ARBATOV ASKED WHETHER I THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE A HARDENING OF AMERICAN ATTITUDES IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS. WAS IT POSSIBLE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT PRESIDENT FORD MIGHT SEEK TO USE THE NATO SUMMIT MEETING IN BRUSSELS TO DELAY ACTION ON CSCE? I SAID I HAD NO REAL KNOWLEDGE OF THIS BUT THOUGHT, ON THE WHOLE, THAT IT WAS UNLIKELY -- THE MEETING WOULD BE USED, RATHER, TO REAFFIRM THE STRENGTH OF US COMMITMENT TO ITS GENUINE AND ENDURING SECURITY INTERESTS IN EUROPE. I DID, HOWEVER, SAY THAT GIVEN DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH EAST ASIA, PORTUGAL AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, THE US COULD BE EXPECTED TO REACT STRONGLY TO ANY ATTEMPTS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF SITUATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION. RICHARDSON UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE115850
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR:SOV:MGARRISON
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750174-1186
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750541/aaaabkjh.tel
Line Count: 99
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 LONDON 7256
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <18 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <24 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CONVERSATION WITH GEORGI ARBATOV
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, (ARBATOV, GEORGIY A), (HARRIMAN, AVERELL)
To: MOSCOW
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006